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THE MUSIC OF THE PILGRIMS

A Description of the Psalm-book brought to Plymouth in 1620

BY

WALDO SELDEN PRATT, 1857-

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BOSTON: OLIVER DITSON COMPANY

NEW YORK: CHAS. H. DITSON & CO. CHICAGO: LYON & HEALY

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2d. Ed. 40p.

This study of a point in the musical history of America that has been rather strangely overlooked is an expansion of a paper prepared for the International Council held in Boston on June 29-July 6, 1920, and also given, in a revised form, before the Connecticut Historical Society on October 5, 1920.

Thanks are due Mr. John Albree, of Boston, for kind permission to make reproductions from his copy of Ainsworth's Psalter, and to him and Rev. Dr. Louis F. Benson, of Philadelphia, for valuable assistance in other ways.

THE BOOK OF PSALMES:

Engliſhed both in Proſe and Metre.

With Annotations, opening the words and ſentences, by conference with other ſcriptures.

By *H. A.*

Ephe. 5.18.19.

Be ye filled with the Spirit: ſpeaking to your ſelves in Pſalms, and hymnes, and ſpiritual Songs: ſinging & making melodie in your hart to the Lord.

Imprinted at Amſterdam;
By Giles Thorp.
Aº. Dⁱ. 1612.

Title-page of the Pilgrim Psalter, First Edition (reduced)

THE many Tercentenary Celebrations during 1920 of the coming of the Pilgrims to Plymouth in 1620 have called fresh attention to that historic migration. In such commemorations the accent naturally falls upon those religious and political ideas in the minds of the pioneers which they proceeded to put into practice in the new settlement. Naturally, also, the strength and nobility of their personal character are exalted, for the leaders and most of their associates were surely notable figures, eminently fit to be founders of a new commonwealth.

Unfortunately, the disasters that befell the infant colony were quick and sharp, so that presently Plymouth was overshadowed by the larger and more fortunate Puritan plantations to the north, representing a somewhat different set of impulses, though of a related class. The settlers about what is now Boston were so much more numerous than those whom plague and famine spared at Plymouth, and the development of the Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay was so much more positive and influential, that it is not altogether strange that popular thought to-day tends to confound the two undertakings and unconsciously to extend to Plymouth whatever facts or traditions belong to Boston and its neighborhood. Thus in trying to draw a picture of the actual life in Plymouth it is not uncommon to find details in the later life of the Puritans assumed to be true also of the ways of the Pilgrims. To offset this prevalent habit of thought it is useful to magnify whatever we can recover of the distinctive peculiarities of the Plymouth settlement.

It is surprising that there is so little intelligent reference to the musical side of Plymouth life. It is true that we do not know how many of the early settlers there were musically gifted, and we have no record of how the actual practice of singing was kept up in the first critical years. But we do know that song in worship was one of their cherished and characteristic customs. And we do know just what music they brought with them. We cannot be wrong, also, in drawing inferences from that passage in Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (1646) in which he describes with no little pathos how on July 20/30, 1620, the large Leyden congregation bade farewell to those of their number who were setting out, by way of England, for the untried shores of America:

> They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, [it] being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.

It is to be remembered that throughout the 16th and 17th centuries English Protestants based their congregational singing upon metrical versions of the Psalms. All early service-books of this kind were 'Psalm-Books'. These were not supplemented or displaced by 'Hymn-Books' until the 18th century. The first complete metrical Psalter in English was that commonly known as 'Sternhold and Hopkins' (so called because begun before 1550 by Thomas Sternhold and finally edited by a committee of which John Hopkins was chairman). This was first published in 1562.

In 1564 it was followed by a Scottish variant, based in general upon the same material, but with extensive differences. These two books dominated the British field for a century or more. In Scotland the historic 'Scottish Psalter' did not come in till 1650, and in England 'Tate and Brady' or 'The New Version' did not begin to bid for approbation before 1696. Meanwhile, as successive colonies were planted in the New World they all brought over the English Sternhold and Hopkins *except* the colony that came to Plymouth.

The Psalter brought to Plymouth was one specially prepared for the fugitive congregations of 'Separatists' in Holland by Henry Ainsworth and published in Amsterdam in 1612. This book was also adopted at Salem and used there for about a generation. At Plymouth it was maintained much longer, certainly until after the Pilgrim settlement was merged with Massachusetts Bay in 1692. It was then replaced by what we now know as 'The Bay Psalm-Book', which was a new American book, published at Cambridge in 1640, much revised about 1650 and often reprinted later. This 'New England Version' long remained the characteristic American Psalter, and as such has received a large amount of attention — not always with much discrimination. Yet Ainsworth's Psalter was in practical use at Plymouth many years earlier, and has much more intrinsic importance than the Bay Psalm-Book ever had. It is remarkable, therefore, that Ainsworth has had so little consideration.

A few words should be said about the compiler or author. Henry Ainsworth stands forth among those who earliest underwent religious exile from England

in Holland as (to quote Dr. Dexter's estimate) 'their finest character, who left the richest deposit in literature, and who for his humility and sweetness deserves worthiest remembrance.' He was born near Norwich about 1570, studied four years at Cambridge, probably in London became active in the 'Separatist' sect, suffered hardship for his opinions, and in 1593 fled for liberty to Amsterdam. For a time he seems to have been in much poverty and is said to have worked in a Dutch book-shop as a common porter. In process of time, however, he naturally became a leader, and, especially after 1610, was recognized as the honored 'teacher' of the principal congregation in Amsterdam, the one with which those who later became the Pilgrims had fairly amicable relations before they settled in Leyden in 1609. Ainsworth was a vigorous controversialist as well as an able Biblical scholar. He is now most remembered because of his Hebrew learning. His various commentaries on the Old Testament were collected in 1627 and have often been republished. He died in 1623, somewhat over fifty years old.

Ainsworth's Psalter is an octavo volume of iv, 342 pages, set up and printed with notable care. Its significance as the first real competitor of Sternhold and Hopkins is attested by the fact that later editions came out in 1617, 1626, 1639, 1644 and 1690. Of the first edition of 1612 I have heard of less than ten copies in America — in the Boston Public Library, Boston University, the Congregational Library of Boston, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Yale University, the Hartford Theological Seminary in Hartford, and the rest in private hands. It is likely that there are one or two more. Whether any of these cop-

ies was actually used at Plymouth I do not know. The main circulation of the book was in Holland and England.

This book has interest in four distinct directions, each of which might claim extended exposition. In the first place, it presents a complete new translation in prose, which is important because made by a competent scholar at almost exactly the same time with the 'King James' or 'Authorized' Version of 1611. In the second place, the rendering of each Psalm is accompanied by many pithy notes or comments on the text, illustrating the author's commonsense as a Biblical critic. In the third place, side by side with the prose renderings are metrical arrangements of them, adapting the entire translation for use in common song. In the fourth place, there is a series of nearly forty tunes, quaintly set forth in melody only, after the fashion of the time.

It is upon the last of these features that I would here fix attention, with whatever may be necessary of the third. The book has by no means been forgotten in its relation to Biblical scholarship, but its peculiar significance as a song-manual should not be overlooked.

In passing, however, a word should be said about the literary quality of the book. The style is concise and nervous, with not a few quaintnesses and some angularities, but on the whole fairly well illustrating that virile period when modern English was being forged by such masters as Bacon and Shakespeare into a mighty weapon of expressional force and brilliance. As a specimen of the prose renderings we may quote that of the 23rd Psalm: —

Jehovah feedeth me; I shall not lack. In folds of budding grass He maketh me lie down; He easily leadeth me by the waters of rests. He returneth my soul; He leadeth me in the beaten paths of justice for His name sake. Yea, though I should walk in the vally of the shade of death, I wil not fear evil; for Thou wilt be with me; Thy rod and Thy staff, they shall comfort me. Thou furnishest before me a table in presence of my distressers; Thou makest fat my head with oil; my cup is abundant. Doubtless good and mercy shal folow me al the dayes of my life, and I shal converse in the howse of Jehovah to length of dayes.

To this we may add a single stanza of the verse to show how the prose is turned into meter: —

Jehovah feedeth me, I shal not lack;
In grassy folds He down dooth make me lye;
He gently leads me quiet waters by.
He dooth return my soul; for His name sake
In paths of justice leads me quietly.

Quoting this stanza reminds us that the music cannot be considered apart from the verse. The two are vitally interdependent. In all early Protestant song, whether in England or France or Germany, we observe certain prevalent types of verse being united with the available types of melody that went with them. In this particular Psalter there was probably little or nothing in either verse or music that was absolutely novel, though in both particulars it differs notably from English usage as then established. The book was made in Holland for an exotic group of English folk temporarily sojourning there. From England they had of course brought the song-usages that had been gradually forming since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But in Holland they were in close contact with the mingled French and Dutch usages of the Reformed Churches in the Low Countries. In Ainsworth, then, we are not surprised to find a unique blend of styles, including a large proportion of French forms. It was this unique blend

that was conveyed across the Atlantic in 1620. The transplanted vine of song, as we shall see, had not the strength to strike root permanently. Other plantings throve more readily. So it came about that what the first-comers brought and for a time watched over with devoted reverence had fallen into more or less oblivion by the time their grandchildren came upon the stage.

The versification in Ainsworth is uniformly iambic, as in all the early English metrical Psalters, though with some licences that slightly relieve the monotony. As contrasted with our modern hymnody, we are at once struck by the entire absence of energetic trochaic measures. In 1612 these were quite unknown or at least unused in practical psalmody. They did not come in until more than a century later, when in 1739 Charles Wesley took up the lyre. Slightly associated with this is the further fact that only very rarely do the lines have a 'feminine' ending (only found in Pss. 45, 50 and 136). Both of these points directly affected the form of the music.

In reading the stanzas aloud, by the way, we need to remember that in 1612 English pronunciation was probably no more absolutely fixed than was English spelling. Some words of French origin may have retained at least a Gallic accent, if not a Gallic vocalization. Many longer words were often split up into all the syllables possible — as 'salvati-on' and even 'cogitati-on famil-i-ar' (Ps. 139). 'Jehovah' was certainly called 'Jehovay', 'Jah' 'Jay' and 'Selah' 'Selay'.

There is a (to us) surprising preference for long stanzas, just as in many of the early German hymns. Hardly more than one Psalm in ten is cast in the

brief four-line pattern that is now often supposed to be typical of the 'old' psalmody. Here, again, we must remind ourselves that the so-called 'short' stanza and tune did not become dominant in English usage at first. In Ainsworth fully half of the Psalms are in eight-line stanzas, while thirty-four of the remainder have six lines and eleven have five lines. Three actually have twelve lines. All this means that the prevailing types of melody were extended rather than condensed. During the 17th century 'short' tunes became the rule, doubtless because they cost less effort of memory and of voice, and their supremacy then lasted until far into the 19th. Even yet there are those who regard 'Dundee' (which is of the same period as Ainsworth) or 'St. Ann's' (which is a century later) as indicating the initial type of English tune. It is true that the prejudice in favor of the syllable-formula 8-6-8-6 (the 'ballad meter' or 'common meter') was somewhat firmly seated before 1600, and that during the 17th century practically all tunes came to be adjusted to this meter or one of its near relatives. Here in America, when in 1698 the Bay Psalm-Book first came to include music, practically all the tunes were of this one class. But in Ainsworth we are in the presence of a very different taste. It is curious that only within a comparatively recent period have English and American churches begun to take up again the elaborated verse-forms and the extended melodies that were common in the thought of the Pilgrims.

In Ainsworth, as in all other early Psalters until Tate and Brady, there is little care for beauty of verbal effect. Many passages seem rough and awkward to our ears, and not a few of the rhymes are harsh. The

one aim was to get the whole substance of the prose text into meter without abridgment and with all possible brevity.

Many more comments might be made about the features of the verse. But we must hasten on to the musical features.

Regarding the sources of the music Ainsworth has this to offer: —

> Tunes for the Psalms I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, decent and comfortable manner of singing that they know. . . The singing-notes, therefore, I have most taken from our former Englished Psalms, when they will fit the measure of the verse. And for the other long verses I have also taken (for the most part) the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalmes.

After the custom of the time, only the melodies are given, set in the old 'square' notes. The notes used are regularly in but three values, in the body of the tunes only semibreves and minims (𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥), but with a 'long' (𝅜) always at the end. The C-clef is the only one used, placed on the staff according to the pitch and range of the melody — usually on the fourth line or third line, but occasionally on the second (Pss. 13 and 32) or even the first (Ps. 35=77). A flat is often added in the signature, and flats are somewhat introduced as accidentals. Sharps, however, are never used (perhaps because the font at hand did not contain them), though in numerous cases they were undoubtedly supplied mentally — as parallel versions in other books indicate. The music-type that Ainsworth found available was not as clear or positive as might be desired, so that some of the melodies, especially

in their fitting to the words below them, are hard to read rapidly. But the proof-reading seems remarkably careful. Regarding this typography we naturally recall Longfellow's graceful reference in 'The Courtship of Miles Standish', at the point where John Alden, on the way with the Captain's message, finds Priscilla singing —

> Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,
> Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
> Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,
> Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses.

In his description of Priscilla singing the 100th Psalm Longfellow seems to show a fine sense of the look of the book as it was. Somewhere he might have woven into his picture the hint that Priscilla, with her presumably French blood, may be supposed to have had a peculiar sympathy with the many French melodies in Ainsworth.

Apparently there are forty-eight tunes, scattered about without much plan. Where no tune is given, there is a cross-reference, like 'Sing this as the 18. Psalm'. But the forty-eight prove to include nine duplicates, so that the actual number is thirty-nine.

These represent in all fifteen different types of stanza or 'meters', as follows: —

(4 lines)	S. M. (6686)	Ps. 21.
	C. M. (8686)	Pss. 15, 54.
	L. M. (8888)	Pss. 5, 33 (=81, 104), 66, 100.
	10s.	Pss. 3 (=86), 25, 37, 97.
(5 lines)	10s.	Pss. 8, 35 (=77).
(6 lines)	L. M. (8888,88)	Ps. 34.
	L. P. M. (888,888)	Ps. 60.
	10s.	Pss. 18 (=69), 45, 53, 111.
	10s, 11s.	Ps. 50.
(7 lines)	6s, 4. (6666,4,66)	Ps. 108.

(8 lines)	C. M. D.	Pss. 1 (=68), 7 (=74), 22, 24, 27 (=106), 39, 42, 44, 59, 89.
	L. M. D.	Pss. 32, 51, 75.
	10s, D.	Pss. 55, 78, 119.
(9 lines)	6s.	Ps. 13.
(12 lines)	L. P. M. D.	Ps. 84 (=136, with every third line condensed).

I have not had the means of absolutely checking up these tunes with all the other books of the period. At least half of them, as is implied in Ainsworth's Preface, can be found in one or both of the two Sternhold and Hopkins versions. It is safe to assume that much more than a majority of all are of French origin, since many melodies already in English use were taken from the Genevan Psalters. This is certainly true of the two that linger in modern hymnals — 'Old 100th' and 'Old 124th' (or 'Toulon'), the latter of which now known only with one of its five lines omitted [this tune here appears as Ps. 8]. Those that seem least likely to be English in either origin or use are Pss. 3, 13, 18, 25, 33, 35, 37, 39, 45, 53, 55, 60, 66, 78, 84, 97, 111 and 119. Almost every one of these is extended, and most of them are fitted to ten-syllable lines. Ainsworth's notably abundant use of these long pentameter forms is plainly due to his desire to avail himself of the many fine French melodies at hand. The French Psalters were in this regard strikingly different from the English.

The mode of the melodies is minor in three out of every four cases. Those that are to be counted as major include Pss. 5, 8, 24, 37, 39, 44, 84 (=136), 97, 100, 108 and 119. A few were probably conceived in a Gregorian scale not quite like our modern minor. The difficulty is that in all the minors, as well as in one or

two of those assumed to be major, and repeatedly where modulation seems to take place, we cannot tell with absolute certainty how far the seventh degree was sharped in singing or just how the sixth degree was treated in consequence. It is likely that, unless collateral evidence of some sort is forthcoming, the precise interpretation of some melodies will vary with different observers, and there are even cases where two diverse interpretations seem almost equally attractive.

It would be very wrong to imagine that these tunes conform to the rigid and artificial rhythmic regularity that became the fashion in all Protestant psalmody during the 17th century — a stiff heaviness that we are now too apt to think was the original characteristic of this whole type of song. In these, as in other early tunes generally, there almost certainly ran originally a sustained vivacity, variety and vigor akin to our modern notion of a glee or part-song. In Ainsworth there is not a single tune in even or uniform notes. Three-quarters of the 252 lines begin with a long note, sometimes three or five. One-quarter begin with a short note, sometimes more than one. Every real line ends with a long note, often three. But within the lines the schemes of longs and shorts vary considerably — not capriciously, but with evident attention to the interest there is in changing patterns. All told, there are nearly forty-five distinct line-rhythms, a few of them quite unknown in present tune-writing. Comparison with other books shows that the dispositions of accent and quantity were intentional and established. As a whole, this music represents the folk-song style, with its symmetrical and echoing lines, each with a

definite unity and all fused into a total enveloping unity. But it is folk-song that has retained great freedom of inner structure. It may be that these thirty-nine melodies illustrate more than one strain of folk-song tradition.

> For example, there are eight different rhythms for six-syllable lines, among them the curious 'snap' form found in Ps. 24, lines *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, and in 54, line *d*. For eight-syllable lines there are no less than twenty rhythms, including peculiar forms like those in 60*ad*, or in 54*a*, or in 75*bd*, the first two of which also include a 'snap' effect. Ten-syllable lines are treated in fifteen rhythms, including two with a 'snap' in 8*c* and in 18*b*. What is here called a 'snap' is an accented short note followed by a long one, producing a syncopation that is often effective, though a trifle disconcerting to the unwary singer to-day. This whole subject merits much greater analysis than can here be undertaken. If followed out in detail, it probably strengthens the view that Ainsworth is much affected by the French traditions of song that were not altogether acceptable to English editors, though many of them were incorporated into the Scottish editions of Sternhold and Hopkins.

These melodies were undoubtedly meant to be sung in unison, led by the men's voices, since the melody is set for the 'tenor'. Whatever may have been true of the two or three hundred members of the original congregation in Leyden, as evidenced by Winslow's remark previously quoted, it is not likely that the hundred Pilgrims who came to Plymouth did much singing in parts. In England, to be sure, there had been harmonized versions of Psalter music published as early as 1563 (Day), with others in 1579 (Damon), 1592 (Este) and 1599 (Allison). In Scotland they did

not come in till 1635. It is not clear, however, that any of these much affected the practice of congregations generally. If the melody was thus supported, it would be by a 'bass' below, an 'alto' (or 'high' part) above, and perhaps a 'treble' (or 'third' part) above that. The transfer of leadership to the upper women's voices did not become established till long after 1612. We may reasonably conjecture that whatever part-singing was attempted was more contrapuntal in impulse than harmonic, with more attention, that is, to the combined 'run' of the voices among themselves than for the complete chord-sequences as such, though at this period, especially with melodies of this folk-song class, the latter were coming into decided prominence.

In regarding all melodies of these old days we must not forget that the Pilgrims moved in a song-atmosphere quite different from that which is common to-day. Melodies were mostly caught by ear and caught from an actual singing-voice, not from an organ, harpsichord or similar instrument. They were thought as pure melodies, not as contours of a flowing stream of key-board harmony. And they were amalgamated with actual words, text and tune standing as one indissoluble unity. Doubtless, too, to these old singers, because they were singers, every melodic interval, every scale-tone as such and every turn in the rhythmic accent and movement had point and meaning to a degree of intensity that is rare in popular feeling to-day. We can recover the artistic color of these old songs only through the help of some specially sympathetic interpretation by a trained vocal interpreter, or, failing that, through some dextrous addition of the chord-effects that we now expect as a matter of course. In all

attempts at reproduction careful attention is due to the shaping and animating force of the varying line-rhythms, and these deserve in many cases to be studied with reference to their derivation from the vigorous movements of the sprightly folk-dance. It may be guessed that the tempo originally was not slow or heavy but lively and sparkling, and that the accents were full and hearty.

Thus regarded and handled, these old tunes prove anything but monotonous or dolorous, or even very strange to our taste. Many of them turn out to be true works of simple art, not only admirably adapted to their purpose, but appealing to any healthy appreciation. Yet, at the best, we cannot be sure that we can fully enter into their spirit. We no longer have quite the same religious absorption in the belief that with the Psalms for text we are singing what the very hand of God wrote for the perpetual use of His people. And, on the musical side, we no longer have the subconscious sense of those medieval or ecclesiastical modes that were still vital and potent in the minds of singers in the Elizabethan era, with the shadowy atmosphere of tone-relations that hung about them like a delicate aura.

As has been said, it is unlikely that any of the Ainsworth tunes were new or even freshly adapted. Many of them can be traced back into the 16th century in various English and French Psalters. Their primary significance lies not in their being in any way extraordinary, but in the fact that this particular sheaf of sacred songs was in the hands and hearts of the little band of New England pioneers. If the venture at Plymouth

had been practically more successful, and if Plymouth had become the civil and religious center of New England, the story of our early psalmody might have been quite different from what it was, just as its political and social development might also have been different. For this reason alone it is worth while to have these melodies made accessible by reprinting them in full.

But there is another reason. In music-history it is customary to emphasize the time about 1600 as that in which modern conceptions of structure and effect began to replace those of the medieval period. In particular, this was the time when the dramatic recitative and arioso began to be recognized, leading in just the years when Ainsworth was evolving his Psalter to the launching of the complex entertainment that we call the 'opera' (Monteverdi's 'Orfeo' was produced in 1603 and his 'Arianna' in 1608, and he went to Venice in 1613). One of the prime factors in the momentous shift that was taking place in all artistic music was the spontaneous vitality that was being discovered in the popular songs of several countries. It was from this general treasury of popular songs that the new Protestant movement adopted or adapted its tunes for religious uses. This was alike true in Germany, in Switzerland and France, down the Rhine Valley and in the Low Countries, and across the Channel in England. The first stage of this special development extended toward the middle or even the end of the 17th century. It then passed over into a second stage, especially in Germany, when the varied original materials were worked over into the more sophisticated type of the traditional 'chorale' and then became the

basis for a fresh contrapuntal and instrumental development, culminating in the first half of the 18th century in the sublime work of the great Bach. The manifold interest and importance of this second stage tends to hide from view the charm of the initial stage that preceded it. Anything, therefore, which brings back to memory the quality of the original songs of Protestantism has value. No one would exalt the music of the Ainsworth Psalter as in the least conspicuous or important in this total historic movement. But it is an interesting bit of concrete evidence. This Psalter is one of a considerable number before 1650 that preserve the naive freshness of song that was characteristic of Protestantism at its youthful stage.

In view of what this Ainsworth music was one wonders that instead of exerting some perceptible influence in its American habitat it practically vanished from popular memory. By about 1700 it appears that but one of its tunes remained in common use —'Old 100th' — and this only because established in usage through other books. There were some later efforts at intervals to recover a few more, but they accomplished nothing significant.

One reason was that Ainsworth was the book of Plymouth rather than of Boston. Its prestige was quite overshadowed by that of the Puritan 'Bay Psalm-Book' and the tunes from the English Sternhold and Hopkins that were associated with the latter. Just as in Great Britain the Scottish Sternhold and Hopkins, which was musically superior to the English version, was driven into the background by the latter's popularity, so in New England the vogue of the 'Bay Psalm-Book' was fatal to all rivals.

Another reason, more essential and practically potent, was the fact that Ainsworth represented a freer use of verse-forms than either Sternhold and Hopkins or the 'Bay Psalm-Book.' A large section of its tunes, therefore, did not fit the meters of the latter books. The 17th century, we recall, was the time when 'Common Meter' became regnant — in some quarters exclusive. The 'Bay Psalm-Book' used only six meters, and C.M. was put forward in four out of every five cases. At least fifteen of the Ainsworth tunes were thereby ruled out altogether, among them some of the best.

A third reason was the steadily declining interest among English-speaking Protestants in the technique of congregational song. This made it hard on either side of the water to maintain tunes of the length and variety of those in Ainsworth. What was the condition in England is well set forth in chap. iii. of Lightwood's *Hymn-Tunes and their Story* (1905), and, remembering how scattered and primitive were the focal points of culture in the American colonies till the 18th century, we may be sure that here conditions were infinitely less favorable. In 1692 the Plymouth Church formally recognized the 'difficulties' of many of the Ainsworth tunes and granted permission for the substitution of easier ones from the New England Version.

There is perhaps another factor that merits a further word, even though it be hard to define without going into a special dissertation. When the Pilgrims came to Plymouth they were plainly still in that early ardor for Protestant ideas and practices that had marked all similar bodies throughout the 16th century. Public

worship as an institution was not only reverenced, but intensely loved, since it was the visible manifestation of the spiritual fraternity of believers in the presence and thought of God. It was known to be a positive means of grace largely because in it and through it the democratic congregationality of the brotherhood came to definite expression. Its heart and core was that body of common prayer and praise which was felt to be in a true sense sacramental, and to which what we call 'preaching' was meant to contribute. Hence resulted the extraordinary respect that was paid to everything connected with the congregational exercises of prayer and praise, as well as their great extension in the regular services. Although sermons were long, the prayers and the psalms were at least as long, probably often longer. Every service included two extended prayers, one by the 'pastor' and the other by the 'teacher', and two liberal selections from the Psalter, which was sung through in order from first to last in the course of some period like a year. As a little token of how the psalmody was regarded, it is said that for a long time if during the week one were passing a house where some one within was humming a snatch of a psalm-tune, the chance hearer took off his hat as a devout Italian uncovers when a procession passes bearing a bit of the consecrated Host.

But in America, as in England, there began in the 17th century that impressive and lamentable change in liturgical emphasis through which ministeriality was exalted over congregationality, bringing with it in public worship the gradual dominance over everything of the sermon, often as a display of intellectual prowess.

In consequence, the congregation came to regard its function as less that of activity, and sank into the attitude of the passive recipient, if not that of the captious critic. We to-day suffer grievously from the fruits of this insidious process of change. But the immediate musical result was the debilitation and flattening out of everything connected with congregational song. Such fresh and hearty tunes as Bradford and Winslow knew were bound to disappear. They cost too much in the way of concentration of effort and warmth of inner impulse. They were the voice of an age and a spirit that were beginning to pass away. In the 18th century, and at intervals later, there have been instinctive movements to recover the original liturgical fervor of youthful Protestantism. But none of these have lasted long or proved conspicuously effective, since none of them has quite gone to the root of the matter. That root, it is obvious, lies imbedded in many complex conditions and conceptions that do not belong at all in the realm of music, though they sometimes display their consequences within that realm.

However these things may be, we to-day may well stand in reverent interest before whatever serves to bring before us the spirit of those early days when for an entire congregation to sing together with full heart and voice was counted one of the finest and most precious of privileges.

It may be well to add a few hints as to the varied literature bearing upon the subject of the foregoing discussion.

Regarding the Pilgrims in particular and the total Puritan movement, with which they were more or less involved, a multitude of books have been published. None of these, however, so far as I am aware, treats in detail of the music here under consideration. Dexter's *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 1905, contains many items about Ainsworth and his relation to the churches in Holland. Miss Earle's *The Sabbath in New England*, 1891, has an extended chapter upon Ainsworth's Psalter, but this is not entirely satisfactory or trustworthy, especially as regards the verse and the music. On the other hand, in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Mass.*, i. 228-38, is an excellent and accurate paper by S. Lothrop Thorndike on 'The Psalmodies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay' which does real justice to Ainsworth's use of French melodies.

Regarding the intricate development of the early English Psalters the best information is given in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1892 (revised, 1907), under 'Psalters, English', 'Psalters, French', 'Old Version', 'Scottish Hymnody', etc. Numerous lesser works on hymnody supply some points, though often without precision.

Regarding the early Psalm-tunes, reference may be had to popular books like Lightwood's *Hymn-Tunes and their Story*, 1905, Curwen's excellent *Studies in Worship-Music*, 1st Series, 1880 (3rd ed., 1901) and Love's *Scottish Church Music*, 1891. Of the greatest importance are the elaborate dissertations in Livingston's *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of 1635*, 1864. The more comprehensive general treatises, like Douen's *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, 1878-79, will mostly be found listed in Julian, though their number is still growing. Some points, also, can be traced in German authorities, such as Kümmerle's *Encyclopädie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 1888-95, though these seldom do full justice to matters outside the German field.

Regarding the course of Psalmody in America there are such handbooks as Hood's *History of Music in New England*, 1846, Ritter's unsympathetic *Music in America*, 1883 (revised, 1890), Elson's *History of American Music*, 1904 (revised, 1915), and articles on 'Bay Psalm-Book' and 'Tune-Books' in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, Vol. vi (American Supplement), 1920.

Many statements in the notes appended to the melodies following are based upon Livingston or Douen.

1. To the mayſter *of the muſik* upon Gittith; a Pſalm of David.

2. IEhovah our Lord, how wondrous-excellēt *is* thy name in al the earth: which haſt given thy glorious-majeſtie, above the heavens.

3. Out-of the mouth of babes, & ſucklings, thou haſt-founded ſtrength; becauſe of thy-diſtreſſers: to make ceaſe the enemie, & ſelf-avenger.

4. When I behold thy heavens, the deed of thy fingers: the moon and the ſtarrs, which thou haſt ſtably-conſtituted.

5. What *is* ſory-man that thou remembreſt him: and the ſon of Adam, that thou-viſiteſt him?

6. For thou haſt made-him-leſſer a litle, than the Gods: and crowned him with glory and comely-honour.

7. Thou gaveſt-him-dominion, over the works of thy hands: all, thou-didſt-ſett under his feet.

8. Sheep and oxen al of them: and alſo, the beaſts of the feild.

9. The fowl of the heavens, & the fiſhes of the ſea: that-which-paſſeth-through, the pathes of the ſeas.

10. Iehovah our Lord: how wondrous-excellent *is* thy name, in al the earth.

2. O Jah our Lord, how excellent-great is
thy name in all the earth: thou which haſt given
thy glorious-maieſtie above the heaven.
3. Frō mouth of babes, & ſucklings, thou frames
foundeſt; becauſe of them that thee diſtreſs:
To make the ſee, and ſelf-avenger ceaſe:
4. When I behold thy heav'ns, thy fingers deed:
the moon and ſtarrs, which thou haſt ſtablished.
5. What is fraÿl-man that him thou remembreſt?
and Adams ſon, that him thou viſiteſt?
6. For thou a litle leſſer haſt made him,
then be the Gods: and crowned him with glorie
and-eke with honourable-decencie.
7. Of thy hand-works, thou gaveſt him ruling:
under his feet, thou ſet didſt every-thing.
8. Sheep & beeves all: and feild beaſts with the
9. Fowl of the heav'ns, fiſh of the ſea alſo: (ſame.
that through the path-wayes of the ſeas doth go.
10. O Jah our Lord: how excellent-great-name
in all the earth hath thy renowned-name.

Annotations.

V. 1. Gittith] or the Gittith: which title is alſo given to the 81. & 84. Pſalmes. Gath in Hebrue is a vvinepreſs, Iſa. 63. 2. It is alſo the name of a city of the Philiſtims, 1 Sam. 17. 4. A title alſo of the Levites was called Gath-rimmon Ioſ. 21. 25. Whereupon Obed-edom the ſon of Ieduthun, a Levite and ſinger in Iſrael, was called a Gittite. 2. Sam. 6. 10. So by Gittith here may be meant, eyther ſuch inſtruments as were uſed by the poſterity of Obed-edom the Gittite; or, that theſe Pſalmes were made upon occaſion of tranſporting Gods ark from the howſe of that Obed-edom, the hiſtory wherof is in 2 Sam. 6. 6. 10. 11. 12. &c. or, that theſe Pſalmes were to be ſung for praiſe of God, at the Vintage, when grapes were preſſed. And according to this, the Greek tranſlateth it the winepreſſes. Or it may be the name of ſome muſical inſtrument; and ſo the Chalde paraphraſt taketh it.

V. 2. our Lord] or, our ſuſteyners: ſee the note on Pſal. 2. 4. wondrous-excellent] or vvon-

A page from the Pilgrim Psalter (reduced)

THE thirty-nine melodies in Ainsworth are given herewith, accompanied in each case by some single stanza of the words regularly used. For convenience, they are transscribed in modern notation, using the G-clef instead of the C-clef, and representing 𝅝 by 𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥 by ♩ and ♩ by 𝅘𝅥𝅯 (though properly 𝅘𝅥𝅰). The pitch indicated is that of the original, though the change of clefs transposes it an octave upward. When a flat occurs in the signature, or as an accidental, it is reproduced. In cases where contemporaneous books show that sharps were introduced in singing, they are indicated above the staff. Where a sharp may be conjectured, but is not thus supported by evidence, it is put in parenthesis. Some problematical cases are further indicated by a query.

The original music is without bars, except to mark the end of the tune. The ends of the lines are more or less consistently indicated by 'checks', which are here reproduced by a mark at the top of the staff. In the original the tunes have the time-signature 𝅗𝅥, with the exception of five cases (42, 45, 50, 51, 111). It seems evident that this indicates in general what was sometimes called 'alla semibreve' or 'alla cappella' time. But its application in many cases is by no means clear, since the rhythmic feet are triple rather than duple. It is important to remember that in some books of the periods such feet were made duple by dotting the long notes. Whether this alteration was common in actual singing is unknown.

In selecting single stanzas to go with the melodies the aim was to take those that are somewhat complete in thought and fairly finished in expression. The original spelling is retained, but not the punctuation.

With each tune a few brief notes are subjoined, recalling points about its derivation and previous usage or emphasizing features in the melody that are worth observing. These latter remarks mainly concern the modes used or the line-rhythms or the modulations implied or the melodic devices, including cadence-formulæ. These notes are by no means all that might be made, but they will serve to bring out some of the salient technical points.

PSALMS 1 and 68 (also 4, 11, 19, 76, 98, 110, 121, 127, 144). C. M. D.

O blessed man, that dooth not in
The wicked's counsel walk
Nor stand in synner's way, nor sit
In seat of scornful folk,
But setteth in Jehovah's law
His pleasureful delight,
And in His law dooth meditate
By day and eke by night. [Ps. 1]

In Sternhold and Hopkins, both forms, the 'proper' tune for Ps. 119. Appeared in the partial London Psalter of 1560 with Whittingham's new version of that Psalm.

Rhythm of line *a* found elsewhere only in 7*e*.

Line *g* is tonally the same as 34*f*.

Lines *c-d* modulate into the dominant minor, and *f* into the relative major.

PSALMS 3 and 86 (also 6, 55, 119, 120). 10s.

I layd me down and slept; I waking rose;
For me Jehovah firmly up did bear.
For thowsands ten of folk I wil not fear,
Which me besetting round about inclose. [Ps. 3]

The only melody in 10s that has a uniform line-rhythm, which is the commonest form for 10-syllable lines. It can be regarded as laid out in either 2/2 or 3/2 measures. The latter pattern (the first of three beats divided) was a favorite with Lowell Mason, though used by him for shorter lines.

Line *a* curiously resembles the opening of a tune set to Ps. 74 in the Genevan Psalter of 1562, though the latter is in major. But the rest of the two melodies are quite different. (See Douen, i. 661.)

Line *b* modulates into the dominant minor, perhaps throughout.

PSALM 5. L. M.

And all that hope in Thee for stay
Shal joy, shal showt eternallie;
And Thou shalt cover them; and they
That love Thy name, be glad in Thee. [Ps. 5]

In Scottish S&H. (from 1595) set to the versified Ten Commandments. It comes from the Genevan Psalter of 1556.

The rhythm of *a* is unique in the juxtaposition of duple and triple feet. But it is possible that in singing the latter were made duple by dotting the minims. This adjustment often occurs in Este's harmonized Psalter of 1592.

Line *c* probably modulates into the dominant major.

The echo between *b* and *d* is effective.

PSALM 7 and 74 (also 10, 14, 16, 83, 90, 116, 143). C. M. D.

Jehovah, Thou wilt quicken me
  Ev'n for Thyne own name's sake;
Thou in Thy justice forth my sowl
  Out of distress wilt take.
And in Thy mercie wilt suppress
  My foes, and al of them
Destroy that doo afflict my sowl;
  For I Thy servant am. [Ps. 143]

In S&H., both forms, the 'proper' tune for Ps. 130. It comes from the Genevan Psalter of 1542, and is also in the Strassburg Psalter of 1539.

The peculiar rhythm of *e* recalls 1*a*.

Other versions do not agree as to the second and third sharps. In the 1629 English book both are included and *g* ends with b-natural. The intended harmonic scheme is in doubt, but analogy suggests that the three sharps should be kept, but not the natural. The modulations, then, would be the usual ones, into the dominant minor and the relative major.

PSALM 8 (also 17, 23, 35, 77, 85, 92, 124). 10s, 5 lines.

Our sowl is as a bird escaped free
From out of the intangling fowler's snare.
The snare is broke and we escaped are.
Our succour in Jehovah's name shal bee
That of the heav'ns and earth is the maker. [Ps. 124]

In S&H., both forms, the 'proper' tune for Ps. 124. It was taken in 1560 from the Genevan Psalter of 1559, but first appeared in 1551. It is attributed to Louis Bourgeois, but the traditional harmony is Goudimel's. It is now commonly reduced to four lines by omitting *c*. This modified version, often with changed rhythm and the second cadence inverted, is usually called 'Toulon'.

The rhythm of *c* is unique, though the 'snap' effect is parallelled in 18*b*.

PSALM 13 (also 88, 130). 6s, 9 lines.

I counted am with them
  That doo go down the pit;
I am as man that hath
  Abilitie no whit.
Ev'n free among the dead,
  As slayn in grave that lay,
Whom Thou dost mind no more,
  Because from Thy hand they
  Have quite been cut away. [Ps. 88]

Apparently Dorian, though the practical treatment is not clear. Modulation into the dominant minor is likely in *b* and *d*, and probably into the relative major in *e-f*.

The rather unusual pairs of notes in *e* and *f* may point to derivation from 4-note lines, possibly an immature stage of the stanza later called 'Hallelujah Meter' (6666, 4444). cf. the form of Ps. 108.

PSALM 15 (also 131). C. M.

Jehovah, who shal sojourner
In Thy pavilion bee?
Who shal a dweller be within
Thy mount of sanctitie? [Ps. 15]

This simple 'short' tune sounds like those later known as 'common' tunes (tunes in C. M. adaptable to any Psalm in that meter). But I have not identified it as such.

The rhythms are all different. That of *a* is unique, while those of *b* and *c* are elsewhere found only in 54*b* and 89*e* respectively.

Line *b* seems to modulate into the relative major.

PSALMS 18 and 69 (also 2, 38, 45, 52, 63, 72, 107, 140). 10s, 6 lines.

I love Thee deer, Jehovah my firmness;
Jehovah is my rock and my fortress,
And my deliverer, my God is Hee,
My rock, in whom I sheltred hope to bee
My shield and horn of my salvation,
My fensed hye fortification. [Ps. 18]

This extended and individual tune I have not yet identified in other books.

It may be conceived without modulation. But the unique cadence in *c* is surprising, and that of *e* is ambiguous. I incline to read f-sharp throughout, but with hesitation in *c*.

The rhythm of *f* is unique, and that of *b* found only in 25*a* and 55*b* (both tunes of French origin).

The device of beginning with three reiterated notes, as in *a* and *c*, occurs also in 25*b*, 37*d*, 42*a*, 50*cd*, 51*ac*, 55*efh*, 60*d*, 78*e*, 84*gh*, 100*b* and 119*efg*. All these, except possibly 42, are probably French.

PSALM 21 (also 93, 134). S. M.

Jehovah, in Thy strength
  Doo high Thyself advance;
And we wil sing and praise with psalm
  Thy powrful puissance. [Ps. 21]

This melody resembles that for Ps. 54, though the latter is in C. M. and is tonally identical only in spots. The 'common' tune called 'London' in the Scottish S&H. ('Cambridge' in the English) of 1615 and '35 consists of *54ad* + *21cd*. This tune, in some one of its varying forms, is at least as old as Damon's Psalter of 1577. It is supposed to be of English origin (see Livingston, *passim*). It is not to be confused with 'London New' or 'Newtoun'.

The rhythm of *c*, combining duple and triple feet, occurs elsewhere only in *54c*. But see note under Ps. 5.

PSALM 22 (also 19). C. M. D.

Jehovah's law, it perfect is,
The sowl agayn turning;
Jehovah's witness faithful is,
The simple wise making;
Jehovah's charges righteous are,
Giving hart's glad delight;
Jehovah's precept, it is pure,
Giving the eyes clear light. [Ps. 19]

In S&H., English, the 'proper' tune for the versified Te Deum. As it is there given without sharps, it seems to alternate between D minor and F major. It is there divided more definitely into lines than here.

The rhythm of *g*, as here given, is unique, though much like that of 1*a* and 7*e*.

Line *b* perhaps modulates into the dominant minor.

The strong cadences of *d* and *h* are parallelled in 27*a* and 75*e*.

PSALM 24 (also 29, 118). C. M. D.

Lift up, ye gates, your heads, and ye,
  Dores of eternal aye,
Be lifted up, that so the King
  Of glory enter may!
This King of glory, who is He?
  Jehovah, puissant
And valiant, Jehovah, He
  In battel valiant. [Ps. 24]

In S&H., both forms, the 'proper' tune for Ps. 77. In the English version also set for Pss. 81 and 135. Its origin is probably English.

The steady triple feet in the 8-syllable lines are parallelled only in Ps.32. The peculiar 'snap' rhythm of the 6-syllable lines is found only in *54d*.

The only certain modulation is that of *d* into the dominant major, though passing into the relative minor is feasible in *b* and *f*.

The subtle echoes between parallel lines in the couplets and quatrains are interesting.

PSALM 25 (also 9, 37, 62, 71, 123). 10s.

Upon Jehovah turn thy way aright,
And trust on Him, and He wil see it doon;
And wil bring forth thy justice as the light,
And thy judgment as the bright shining noon. [Ps. 37]

Set in Genevan Psalters (from at least 1542) to Ps. 8, but in the meter 11-11-10-10 (penultimate note in *a* and *b* divided.)

The rhythm of *a* occurs only in 18*b* and 55*b*, while that of *d* is unique.

Line *b* doubtless modulates into the relative major. The use of the flat in *c*, but not in *a*, suggests that *c* is conceived as ending in the dominant minor.

PSALMS 27 and 106 (also 30, 36, 101, 109, 115). C. M. D.

Jehovah, in the heavens is
  Thy bountiful mercie;
Thy constant faithfulness dooth reach
  Unto the hyest skye.
Thy justice, as the mounts of God;
  Thy judgments, a great deep;
Jehovah, Thou doost man and beast
  In helthful safety keep. [Ps. 36]

In S&H., both forms, the 'proper' tune for Ps. 18. It is supposed to be of English origin.
Lines *a-b*, here treated as a couplet, are divided in the music for Ps. 106.
The only modulation is in *e*, into the dominant minor.
On the cadence in *a*, see Ps. 22.

PSALM 32 (also 28, 40, 70, 75, 102, 137). L. M. D.

Jehovah's song how sing shal wee
  Within a forreyn people's land?
Jerusalem, if I doo thee
  Forget, forget let my right hand,
Cleav let my tongue to my palat,
  If I doo not in mind thee bear,
If I Jerusalem doo not
  Above my chiefest joy prefer. [Ps. 137]

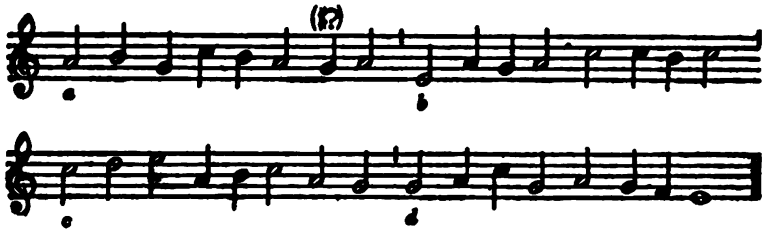
In S&H., English, set to 'The Lamentation of a Sinner', one of the few appended hymns. Its origin is doubtless English.

The triple movement recalls that of Ps. 24.

Line *c* probably modulates into the relative major, as *e* and *f* certainly do into the dominant minor.

With suitable harmony, as supplied, for example, in Este's Psalter of 1592, this apparently monotonous lament takes on a singularly haunting beauty.

PSALMS 33, 81 and 104 (also 47, 114, 148). L. M.



He brings forth bread out of the ground,
And joyes the hart of man with wine;
Makes face with oil chearful to shine,
With bread man's heart upholdeth sound. [Ps. 104]

The only melody in what appears to be the Æolian mode. If conceived in A minor, *b* modulates into the relative major.
The rhythms of *a* and *c* are unique.

PSALM 34 (also 82, 133, 149). L. M., 6 lines.

Who is the man that life dooth will,
That loveth dayes, good for to see?
Refreyning keep thy tongue from yll,
Thy lips from speaking fallacee.
Doo good and evil quite eschew,
Seek peace and after it pursew. [Ps. 34]

In S&H., both forms, the 'proper' tune for the versified Lord's Prayer, and in the Scottish version also set for Ps. 112. It is the famous German melody 'Vater unser', dating from at least as early as 1537. It came into English use from Geneva by 1560, if not earlier.

The peculiar effect of the five long notes at the ends of lines is unique.

Line *f* is tonally the same as 1*g*.

PSALMS 35 and 77 (also 17, 31, 85, 92, 129, 142). 10s, 5 lines.

Say to my sowl, I thy salvation am.
Let my sowl-seekers basht and shamed be,
Turnd back and blush, that evil think for me.
As chaff before the wind, so be those same,
And th'Angel of Jehovah driving them. [Ps. 35]

The rhythm of *a*, *c* and *d* is found elsewhere only in 37*a* and 45*a*.
Lines *c* and *d* appear to modulate into the dominant minor and the relative major respectively.

PSALM 37 (also 52, 61, 78, 97). 10S.

Frett not thyself for them that evil doon;
Envie not them that doo injuriousnes;
For as the grass cut down they shal be soon,
And fade ev'n as the budding herb's greennes. [Ps. 37]

Probably major, with modulations in *a* and *c* into the subdominant and dominant majors.

The rhythm of *a* occurs also in 35*acd* and 45*a*. That of *b* is found only in 53*aef*.

The duplication of cadences in *b* and *d* is noticeable.

PSALM 39 (also 41, 141). C. M. D.

Fyre in my meditation burnd;
I with my tongue did speak.
Jehovah, make me know mine end,
What my dayes' mesure eke;
Know let me how short liv'd I am.
Loe, Thou hast giv'n my dayes
As handbredths, and my worldly time
Fore Thee as nothing weighes. [Ps. 39]

This cheerful and simple melody has no special originality to the modern ear, but may have been unusual in its day. The apparent avoidance of modulations tends toward monotony, but is offset by the lilting rhythms. Line *f* is somewhat striking.

Cadences in falling thirds, as in *a* and *f*, are unusual in this series, especially in major.